

## ■ 論 文 ■

# The Diaries of Arthur J. Stirewalt, 1941-1942

## Part II : Life During Wartime — The Church and the Repetition of the Everyday

Timothy S. McKenzie \*

This paper is Part II in a two part series on the diaries of Lutheran missionary Arthur J. Stirewalt during the period of 1941-1942. This paper will examine Stirewalt's life in wartime Japan until his repatriation on the exchange ships of 1942. Stirewalt's diaries, as a record of "the everyday," allow us to see that though the nations of Japan and the United States were at war, and though missionaries could no longer officially work in the church in Japan, relationships between Japanese and American Christians continued in spite of the war. As a methodology, this paper utilizes the concepts of "the principle of the everyday" in the thought of Shōwa philosopher Tosaka Jun and a "world come of age" in the thought of German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Both Tosaka and Bonhoeffer understood the modernity of human life and community as arranging its affairs independent of "the eternal" or "the divine." Stirewalt's diaries reveal the suffering nature of the church, which included all churches pulled apart by war. The voices of Tosaka, Bonhoeffer and Stirewalt point to the role of "the everyday" in the creation of hope and newness that has the power to overcome the brokenness of human life.

**Keywords :** Arthur J. Stirewalt, Tosaka Jun, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Mission, 1942 Exchange Ships

### Introduction

This paper is the second part of a larger project that seeks to understand something about the nature of Christian community as it was experienced during a critical period of nationalism and war during 1941-1942.<sup>1</sup> In the first part of this paper, we saw how the diaries of Arthur Stirewalt (1881-1968) witnessed to

relationships, built up over decades, that shared both the ordinary and the extraordinary experiences of what Shōwa philosopher Tosaka Jun termed, "the everyday." As the world descended into a 'total war' with nations mobilized against one another, and even religions pressed into the aid of the nation, relationships built upon the repetition of daily life sustained a hope that even war could not completely destroy.

In Part 1 we argued that Tosaka Jun's concept of "the everyday" - as the "crystal core of historical time, the secret of history" - allows us to see that it is through the repetition of daily

---

\* マッケンジー, ティモシー・S.  
Associate Professor of Historical Theology,  
Japan Lutheran College and Theological Seminary

life and its friendships, relationships and collaborations that “the everyday” becomes historical time. In the second part of this paper, we will examine the period of 1942 as it unfolds in Stirewalt’s diaries. It is hoped that we might be able to understand more deeply how the repetition of “the everyday” not only moves history, but how this repetition becomes the bond of community that contains the power to not only sustain, but also to reconcile relationships that have experienced separation, brokenness or estrangement.

Specifically, we will examine the period of January-October 1942, the period of Stirewalt’s life in wartime Japan and his repatriation on the exchange ships the *Asama Maru* and the SS *Gripsholm*. The United States and Japan made two exchanges of diplomatic personnel and civilians in 1942 and 1943. Stirewalt’s diaries open a window upon the 1942 exchange of Japanese and American nationals that offers a contrast to other works that document the same period. For example, Max Hill (1903-1949) who worked as the Tokyo Bureau Chief of Associated Press wrote of his wartime experience in Japan and of the first exchange ship immediately after the exchanges took place.<sup>2</sup> This work is an invaluable eyewitness account of one who had been jailed for his activities as a journalist, though it often also displays an understandable wartime patriotic bias. Another eyewitness account, written by Gwen Terasaki (1908-1990), the American wife of the Japanese diplomat Terasaki Hide-nari (1900-1951), was written fifteen years after the exchanges and covers a much larger span of history than that taken up by Hill’s work.<sup>3</sup> Terasaki’s work is also written from a more dispassionate perspective, though she and her family suffered great hardships during the war. In contrast to these types of personal accounts, Stirewalt’s diaries capture a sense of events

happening in “real time” without the eliding and redacting of historical time that often occurs when events are reconstructed after the fact and ordered into a historical narrative account. Stirewalt’s diaries offer a perspective upon a critical “moment” not only in the history of two churches, but also in the history of two nations.

In Part I, we introduced Shōwa period philosopher Tosaka Jun (1900-1945) and his “principle of the everyday” (*nichijōsei no genri*), as a methodology through which we might be able to see more clearly that which is embedded within the text of Stirewalt’s diaries.<sup>4</sup> Tosaka’s conception of the everyday was thoroughgoing in its modernity, arguing that human beings live nowhere but in the present. Tosaka was critical of a humanity that had often tried to expand the present through a phenomenological understanding of time. Tosaka wrote,

Some people expand the present into eternity using terms such as “the past in the present;” “the future in the present” and “the present in the present.” In this way, the present comes to equal past, present and future; this comes to equal ordinary time, which then comes to equal the temporal, and in the end, the eternal. Thus, “the eternal now.”<sup>5</sup>

Tosaka argued that humanity attempted to read into present experience an understanding of time that was really more phenomenological or conceptual than it was real. He continued,

I would like to caution that all of these concepts of the present come from a phenomenological understanding of time. In phenomenological time, though it is certain that our consciousness is at work, our physical bodies cannot reside within this conception of time.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, for Tosaka, strictly speaking, there is only

"the principle of the day to day, in the principle of day by day, in the principle that there is a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different."<sup>7</sup> This concept of "the everyday" expressed through "the daily repetition of things" formed a durational present that, for Tosaka, became historical time. As suggested in Part I, Tosaka's conception of a durational present, the everyday, makes room for matters that are also more difficult for governments to regulate, things such as matters of the heart - friendships, loyalties, love, faith, compassion and charity. These things, the interiority of human community, which when experienced within the repetition of daily life, have the power to give meaning and direction to persons and the institutions to which they find themselves in relationship. Tosaka attempted to uncover the paradox that humanity lives within, namely, a consciousness that seeks to understand the present with reference to the past, future and even eternity, though as physical beings, humanity can only reside in the present moment. If, as Tosaka cautions, there is no "eternal now" (*eien naru ima*), what implications does this have for a Christian understanding of historical time? What happens to an understanding of time in which God may be understood as present only within the present moment and its relationships?

At this point the ideas of German theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) are helpful because of their attempt to struggle with a similar conception of modernity.<sup>8</sup> In his *Letters and Papers from Prison*, Bonhoeffer attempted to outline a new understanding of Christian identity in the modern world. Writing from Tegel Prison in Berlin to his friend Eberhard Bethge on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1944, Bonhoeffer argued that humanity had learned to live without any reference to the sacred or the eternal in its daily affairs. Bon-

hoeffer wrote,

Human beings have learned to manage all important issues by themselves, without recourse to "Working hypothesis: God." In questions of science or art, as well as in ethical questions, this has become a matter of course, so that hardly anyone dares rock the boat anymore.<sup>9</sup>

Bonhoeffer was describing the culmination of the Enlightenment tradition in which humanity had come to live and order daily life without recourse to a concept of God for the management of daily affairs. Bonhoeffer called this world "the world come of age," signifying a rationally independent humanity that no longer needed the tutelage of God in its daily life.<sup>10</sup> Rather than the object of a life giving relationship of faith, humanity had turned God into the God of religion and the religious act.<sup>11</sup>

Bonhoeffer expressed modern existence as a paradox, writing,

Before God, and with God, we live without God. God consents to be pushed out of the world onto the cross; God is weak and powerless in the world and in precisely this way, and only so, is at our side and helps us ...The Bible directs people toward the powerlessness and the suffering of God; only the suffering God can help.<sup>12</sup>

For Bonhoeffer, what was at issue was the reality of a God who suffers in the world with humanity. God was not to be viewed as a divine solution to human problems that could be accessed simply through religious acts. Rather, God's purpose of coming into the world was to suffer with the world, thereby drawing humanity into the event of the cross and resurrection. Bonhoeffer wrote,

Humanity is called upon to share in God's suffering at the hands of a godless world.

Thus we must really live in that godless world and not try to cover up or transfigure its godlessness somehow with religion. Our lives must be “worldly,” so that we can share precisely so in God’s suffering...That is “μετάνοια,” not thinking first of one’s own needs, questions, sins, and fears but allowing oneself to be pulled into walking the path that Jesus walks, into the messianic event, in which Isa. 53 is now being fulfilled!<sup>13</sup>

These ideas of a “world come of age” and of a human participation with a “suffering God” are extremely helpful in seeking to understand more deeply Tosaka Jun’s “principle of the everyday.” Bonhoeffer’s ideas, though clearly only a preliminary outline, demonstrate that it is not only possible, but also necessary to live in the present of the world, for that is precisely the place where the “messianic event” happens. Though Tosaka cautioned that there is no “eternal now,” he did argue that there is “a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different.” In human affairs, it is the understanding of the repetition of daily life that opens a view to seeing how humanity might participate in the sufferings of God in the world. The “worldly” repetition of daily life, through its relationships, friendships, collaborations, and even estrangements and reconciliations, is the historical time in which humanity lives, and is drawn into the “messianic event” of what Bonhoeffer termed, “the suffering God.” Therefore, we also hope to examine the diaries of Arthur Stirewalt to see how they might point to a participation in the sufferings of God and God’s people within “the everyday.”

Finally, I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to both the James R. Crumley Archives at Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary in

Columbia, South Carolina and to the ELCA Archives in Elk Grove Village, Illinois for their generous access to primary documents. I am also indebted to the Davis family for access to that portion of the diaries that were not in archival holdings at the time of research. I am also grateful to my colleague Rev. Isamu Aota for continued access to ULCA Japan Mission records. To our academic neighbor, International Christian University, I offer sincere thanks for gracious access to primary sources such as newspapers and journals. Unless noted, all translations are mine as are all errors.

## Life During Wartime – The Repetition of the Everyday

As 1942 began, the cold of winter deepened and the war continued.<sup>14</sup> Stirewalt reflected upon the first anniversary of his wife Alice’s passing, noting that had war come when she was alive, it would have been more stressful upon her health. He stated that he could “see the hand of the Lord in many things” related to her passing before the beginning of the war.<sup>15</sup> Yet though Stirewalt expressed his trust in divine providence regarding his wife, he could not readily see how his own presence in Japan had allowed him to place into the hands of the Japanese Lutheran church assets that most likely would have either been frozen for the duration of the war, folded into the assets of the newly formed United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*, hereafter “*Kyōdan*”), or possibly seized by the wartime government.

Because of the war, mail service between the United States and Japan had been disrupted, and a number of letters sent by Stirewalt had been returned.<sup>16</sup> After Pearl Harbor, in an effort to communicate his safety to his family in the

United States, Stirewalt went to the Swiss Legation and sent a cablegram to his daughter Ruth in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>17</sup> As Japan had been at war in China arguably since 1931, and officially since 1937, fuel and food were becoming scarce. Because of the lack of fuel, Stirewalt put a stove-pipe through the study window at the Umabashi house to which was connected a trash-burner that had been carried in from the outside, using flower pots as legs to stand the burner upon.<sup>18</sup> The heat generated seemed to work well enough with little fuel. In spite of this, however, the temperature inside the house was cold enough to freeze water in the kitchen and lavatory.<sup>19</sup> Stirewalt noted burning files accumulated over 36 years for fuel, noting, "It is striking how much stuff accumulates in time."<sup>20</sup> Stirewalt's diaries also note food purchases at Fujiya, Kikuya, and Meidiya at Nakano Station.<sup>21</sup> Though Japan was at war with the United States, remarkably, as a registered foreign resident, Stirewalt was still eligible for ration books. He learned, much to his consternation, however, that like collecting manna, he had to go each day to the Meidiya bakery at Nakano Station to claim his daily ration of bread. By not going from January 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> he lost four days of ½ pound bread allotments.<sup>22</sup> In spite of these reminders of life during wartime, daily life also reserved a degree of normalcy. Stirewalt went to his dentist, had repairs made on his watch and got new glasses.<sup>23</sup> It is also remarkable that the stonework for his wife Alice's grave in the Tama Cemetery continued in spite of these conditions, the cold and the war. One year after Alice's death, Stirewalt noted that the work was nearly complete. Only the epitaph for the Japanese language stone remained to be cut.<sup>24</sup>

As discussed in Part 1 of this paper, Stirewalt had planned to move to the Hepner home

on the Saginomiya seminary campus in an effort to save money and fuel.<sup>25</sup> However, early in 1942 he was also asked by Mrs. Theodore D. Walser and Miss Daugherty to stay at their home where there was ample fuel. Stirewalt declined stating that he did not want to do this in the absence of Mr. Walser, who was in the detention camp at Denenchofu.<sup>26</sup> Under normal non-wartime circumstances, moving should have been a relatively straightforward affair. One could have moved and reported the move after the fact to the ward office. Fueled vehicles and moving services would also have been available to assist, as well. However, in early 1942 Stirewalt had to seek permission to move ahead of time from the police authorities, and as there was no fuel for civilian vehicles, belongings had to be transported using a cart pulled by a bicycle. Between January 31<sup>st</sup> and February 4<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt recorded trips to the police seeking clarification and permission regarding the proposed move. A sale of personal belongings also posed a problem in that permission had to be sought from the Ministry of Finance. Stirewalt submitted a list of items for sale with the asking prices, but was told that his prices were too low. Though no doubt Stirewalt just wanted to sell the items and be done with it, the Ministry of Finance reserved the right to declare what was fair value.<sup>27</sup>

Stirewalt revised the price list and returned to the Ministry of Finance on January 31<sup>st</sup> and was given permission to sell.<sup>28</sup> On February 4<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt finally received police permission to move to the Hepner home, only after the Chief of Police called the Denenchofu detention camp to gain permission from Mr. Hepner.<sup>29</sup> From this time onward, considerable time was spent packing to move and selling household items. The sale of items at the Umabashi house began on

February 12<sup>th</sup> and included items belonging to the Linn family, the ULCA Mission and Stirewalt. Stirewalt noted that he deposited 2,157 yen from the sale of this property into the bank.<sup>30</sup> With the move in progress, Stirewalt dutifully tended to the small matters associated with a change of household such as making address changes for ration permits, bicycle registration, Bennie the dog's registration, as well as making calls on his neighbors.<sup>31</sup> The final cartloads of belongings were pulled by bicycle on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, thus finishing the move.<sup>32</sup>

Stirewalt had just turned 61 years of age on February 5<sup>th</sup> and rather stoically noted that it was the first time in many years that no one had remembered the date.<sup>33</sup> In his diary, Stirewalt almost daily noted his tiredness, and in addition noted that his hands were badly chapped from the cold.<sup>34</sup> He recorded that Alice's grave was finally finished "two months late" on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1942.<sup>35</sup> On March 6<sup>th</sup>, under the auspices of the Red Cross, headquartered in the Marunouchi Building, Stirewalt was able to send 25 word messages to each of his three daughters in the United States.<sup>36</sup> The possibility of an evacuation ship for foreign residents had been reported in the newspaper and Stirewalt went to the Swiss Legation to inquire about the veracity of the report, meeting with Messrs. Mayer and Frehn.<sup>37</sup> It would be another month before more definite news of evacuation plans would become known. Stirewalt noted that on March 10<sup>th</sup> he went to the ward office to get ration tickets for sugar, which he then purchased along with bread.<sup>38</sup>

Daily life in his new dwellings on the seminary campus began with visits by Japanese church leaders, tangible signs of friendships that had been built over many years. Asaji Noboru, Hirai Kiyoshi, Honda Denki, Inadomi Hajime, seminarian Kitamori Kazô, Miura Inoko, Nao

Kosaku, Utsumi Sueaki and others continued to visit Stirewalt.<sup>39</sup> Some of these visits were personal, and others related to church business. For example, on January 31<sup>st</sup>, Utsumi Sueaki visited Stirewalt bringing papers for him to sign regarding Kikugawa kindergarten.<sup>40</sup> In addition to these kinds of visits, friends also brought food items such as flour, jars of fruit salad and other things.<sup>41</sup> Stirewalt records lending his copy of the Hebrew Scriptures to seminary Professor Nao Kosaku, who was on a committee appointed to revise the Japanese translation of the Bible.<sup>42</sup> In turn, Stirewalt received permission to visit his friend and colleague Charles Hepner interned at the Denenchofu camp, taking 13 grapefruits.<sup>43</sup> On April 3<sup>rd</sup>, Good Friday, Stirewalt and Alma Hepner attended services at Tokyo Union Church and then went to Tama Cemetery, taking flowers for Alice's grave.<sup>44</sup>

Part 1 of this paper focused upon the transfer of ULCA Mission held assets to the JELC. It would be unfair to give the impression that the shift from Mission leadership to an exclusively Japanese leadership was completely smooth. At the final joint JELC/ULCA Shadan Board meeting held in Stirewalt's home on December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1941, Stirewalt noted that it was agreed that the newly restructured Shadan was not to sell any Mission property without the approval of the ULCA Mission.<sup>45</sup> Stirewalt recorded his disappointment upon hearing that Mission property in Saga and Fukuoka (Kurume) had been sold by the JELC led Shadan without prior consultation with the ULCA Mission.<sup>46</sup> As Stirewalt's consternation regarding this matter seems to suggest, it would take time to adjust to a new style of Japanese leadership with missionaries outside of the decision making process.<sup>47</sup> However, the fact of the matter was that the JELC relied upon financial support from the ULCA,

and the ULCA had been unable to send its financial grant for the second half of 1941 due to the freezing of assets between the two nations.<sup>48</sup> The sale of these properties was meant to help the church and its work in the absence of ULCA financial support.<sup>49</sup> Though the Japanese church was now journeying alone without the aid of the ULCA and its missionary personnel, Miura Inoko continued to report news of decisions and transactions to Stirewalt. For example on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, Miura gave Stirewalt a financial report of the sale of the Saga and Fukuoka properties.<sup>50</sup> Though the Religious Bodies Law did not allow foreign missionary personnel leadership in the church, schools and their financial bodies, Stirewalt continued to be treated with respect by the Japanese church community, receiving reports while also being sought for counsel. Though the land sales were viewed at the time by Stirewalt as the breach of a formal agreement, the Japanese church's use of these funds for continued support of missionary personnel during wartime conditions, and for the ongoing support of the seminary, suggests a deep and abiding concern for both missionary personnel and for the work of the seminary, which had been heavily sponsored by the ULCA and its predecessor body the United Synod of the South. It is commendable that at the beginning of the war, the Japanese church remained concerned about the well-being and the support of the American missionaries who still resided in Japan.

Stirewalt was also a board member of Tokyo Union Church, and on March 24<sup>th</sup> noted attending a board meeting at which it was decided to sell all of the church equipment except that in the church auditorium; to make proper arrangements for The Salvation Army to occupy the building from April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1942; and to send the church hymnals to U.S. prisoners in

Shikoku, if that was possible.<sup>51</sup> Paul S. Mayer had been elected chairman of the board of Tokyo Union Church shortly before the war began and what few members remained in Tokyo decided to try to keep the church open as long as possible.<sup>52</sup> Though the church was without a foreign pastor, its music director Professor Nakada Ugo was asked to take over the worship service schedule and did this for almost the entire following year. After this, the church was used as an office of The Salvation Army until a bomb from a B-29 hit the church on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1945.<sup>53</sup> Stirewalt noted going to Tokyo Union Church on Good Friday with Alma Hepner and attending services led by Mr. Nakada.<sup>54</sup> Stirewalt's diary notation about the March 24<sup>th</sup> Tokyo Union Church board meeting decisions offers insights into the history of this church that are not available in the centennial history or in surviving church documents. It shows a foreign "international" church struggling with its sense of mission to continue under very adverse circumstances, while seeking to comply with Japanese law, which would allow it to legally remain open.<sup>55</sup>

Stirewalt was present in Tokyo at the time of the "Doolittle Raid" on April 18, 1942. On that day, Stirewalt was having lunch at The Olympic with Paul Mayer when they heard air raid sirens, and thought that it was just another drill.<sup>56</sup> Upon his return to the seminary, Stirewalt heard from seminary students that there had been an air raid by American planes. Stirewalt recorded that seminary students saw incendiary bombs fall from the B-25 Mitchell bombers used in the attack.<sup>57</sup> Two days later, an officer from Nagata police station visited Stirewalt to inform him that he now needed to report to the police each time he intended to leave his home with the information of where he intended to go.<sup>58</sup>

That the police did not simply arrest him along with the other Americans that remained free at large is remarkable.

Stirewalt noted information regarding the seminary, which was given to him by the newly elected seminary president, Miura Inoko. The information included the names of the faculty and student body, which consisted of 10 seminarians.<sup>59</sup> In this careful reporting by Miura and notation by Stirewalt one senses just how valuable theological education was for both the ULCA and the JELC. Though the two nations were at war, Miura and Stirewalt remained colleagues in the work of the church and its seminary. This kind of reporting to Stirewalt is especially poignant because Stirewalt had helped to found the seminary in 1909.<sup>60</sup>

## Negotiations for an Exchange of Diplomatic and Civilian Personnel

On April 11<sup>th</sup> Miura Inoko visited Stirewalt with the news that plans for a possible evacuation ship seemed more definite.<sup>61</sup> Further rumors of an exchange ship appear in Stirewalt's diary from May, and he expressed frustration at the vagueness of the rumors, writing, "The indefiniteness about our evacuation is very annoying, shall we sell, pack up, or what?"<sup>62</sup> The following day, however, Miura visited Stirewalt again with definite news of an exchange of ships that was to take place in Mozambique at Lourenço Marques.<sup>63</sup> This information would prove to be accurate.

Historically, Japan and the United States made two exchanges of officials and civilians during the Second World War. The first exchange took place at Lourenço Marques in Mozambique on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942. The second exchange took place at Portuguese controlled

Mormugão, Goa on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1943. However, talks concerning a third exchange broke down for a number of reasons. Differing understandings of the terms of exchange, and the concept of "reciprocity" that controlled how many persons and what categories of civilian workers could be exchanged made it difficult for both nations to reach agreement over future exchanges.<sup>64</sup>

By July 1942, the United States had completed two exchanges of diplomatic and civilian personnel with Germany and Italy. That these exchanges could be organized and implemented quickly owed itself to the fact that the U.S. Department of State had, on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, created a small section known as the Special Division, which was charged with handling "special problems arising out of the disturbed conditions in Europe. Such as aiding in the repatriation of American citizens..."<sup>65</sup> The earliest communication regarding the treatment and eventual exchange of Japanese and American government officials was made by the government of the United States on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1942 (U.S. time) one day after the commencement of war and transmitted through the Swiss Minister in Tokyo.<sup>66</sup> The earliest proposal for an exchange of personnel between the United States and Japan came in the form of a proposal by the United States dated December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1941 and sent to the Japanese Government via the Swiss Legation in Tokyo.<sup>67</sup> A second expanded proposal by the United States, which would become the basis for the first Japanese-American exchange at Lourenço Marques, was also sent to Tokyo via diplomatic channels on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1941.<sup>68</sup> The exchange of diplomatic personnel was obvious and straightforward; however, the civilian categories of personnel eligible for exchange were where the two nations had difficulties in finding



complete and common understanding.<sup>69</sup> For our purposes in this paper, the United States sought to have all citizens repatriated, and if there was priority given, it was given to "women, children and the aged, and infirm."<sup>70</sup> On March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1942, the U.S. Department of State in a telegram sent to Tokyo via the government of Spain, stated, "The United States Government does not desire to indicate any degree of priority for the repatriation of its nationals as between individuals."<sup>71</sup> Thus, priority would be given only to "women, children...the aged, and infirm," but as to which individuals were eligible, the United States government would not discriminate.

Thus it was that on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1942 with an eye toward evacuation on the rumored ship that Stirewalt went to a Dr. Wittenberg for a physical examination to apply for passage on the rumored exchange ship. On May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1942 Stirewalt recorded that he met Mr. Kuns of the Swiss Legation at the Imperial Hotel and it was suggested by Kuns that Stirewalt apply with his physical examination report for passage on the rumored ship. The following day, Stirewalt made his application for evacuation at the Swiss Legation in Tokyo.<sup>72</sup>

On May 16<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt visited Charles Hepner at the Denenchofu detention camp and heard that Hepner was also to be repatriated on a ship that was supposed to sail in the middle of June. On May 21<sup>st</sup>, Miura Inoko visited Stirewalt with the news of an exchange of nationals that would take place at Lourenço Marques on July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1942.<sup>73</sup> On May 25<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt again visited the Swiss Legation and was told that he had been selected, along with Charles and Alma Hepner, to travel on the first exchange ship, the *Asama Maru*, which would leave between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>74</sup> According to Stirewalt, evacuees were allowed to take "no furni-

ture, no books or written matter whatever - no silver - no money, except ¥1,000 allowed."<sup>75</sup> In reality, the negotiations between the Japanese and American governments over baggage allowances were never fully resolved before the first exchange. In theory according to the agreed plan, the luggage and persons of diplomatic personnel were to be exempt from both limit and search. However, the limits to be imposed upon non-official personnel were ambiguous. On February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1942, the Japanese government stated that "each" piece of luggage "should be of such size and weight as may be carried by a single person."<sup>76</sup> Though in theory this should have meant that each evacuee could have multiple pieces of luggage that were small enough to be managed by a single person, in practice, this was often interpreted to mean that each person could only have one piece of luggage.<sup>77</sup> The amount of money that each evacuee could take was also a point of contention, as neither government wanted evacuees to take large sums out of the country with them. It was decided on the basis of the February 19<sup>th</sup> proposal from Tokyo that evacuees could take "up to 1,000 yen or its equivalent" to meet their needs on the vessel up to the point of exchange. In a March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1942 telegram sent to the Japanese government by the United States, it was suggested that Japanese evacuees be subject to a limit of \$300.00 per adult person, to match the 1,000 yen limit for evacuees from Japan.<sup>78</sup>

On May 26<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt arranged with a mover to have some remaining pieces of furniture taken from the Umabashi residence to the seminary, and also decided not to sell his books, but rather to store them at the seminary.<sup>79</sup> This decision would seem to indicate the he planned to return to Japan after the war. He and the Hepners held a small sale of belongings, which

they had advertised in several newspapers. However, Stirewalt recorded that the results of the sale were “a disappointment.”<sup>80</sup> On May 30<sup>th</sup>, while Stirewalt was busy packing, he recorded a visit by Miura Inoko who told him,

The Ministry of Education has forbidden the use of the name of Christ and the use of the word ‘Amen’ in prayers in schools, which are recognized by the government. Prayers are to be to God ‘*Kami sama*’ only. Also all Christian periodicals must be merged into one.<sup>81</sup>

This report highlighted increasing governmental control over the newly founded union church, the *Kyōdan*.

An officer from Nagata police station again visited Stirewalt and told him that he would sail on the *Asama Maru*, leaving June 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>82</sup> Stirewalt noted that Pastor Nao’s wife offered to take care of Alice’s grave at Tama Cemetery.<sup>83</sup> Stirewalt finished packing on June 8<sup>th</sup>, and the police came to inspect the baggage. Stirewalt recorded that he had packed six pieces and the police reduced it to three. The police took out many things including a photo of Alice’s grave and Bennie, the dog – “a whole lot of things which were utterly innocent.”<sup>84</sup> Bennie, the family dog, was given to the Sakamoto family, whose son wanted the dog.<sup>85</sup> In the midst of these details and packing, Stirewalt also attempted to safeguard his bank account by applying for a permit to have the balance transferred to American Baptist missionary James Gressitt, who had decided not to evacuate, but to stay in Japan.<sup>86</sup> After the Ministry of Finance made verbal assurance regarding the transfer, Stirewalt received a call by his bank (the *Dai Ichi Ginkō*) and he went to finalize the giving up of his bank vault.<sup>87</sup>

In spite of great changes in the church and Japan, due to the war, small signs of friendship

are evident in Stirewalt’s diary. For instance, on Sunday June 14<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt had dinner at the Miura’s home along with Rev. & Mrs. Nao and Kitamori Kazō.<sup>88</sup> Later, the tofu shop man came to pick up Bennie for the Sakamotos, and Stirewalt nailed shut the last of his and the Hepner’s boxes.<sup>89</sup> On June 16<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt made one last visit to Alice’s grave, noting, “perhaps my last time – sad!” He had dinner that evening at the home of Rev. & Mrs. Nao, along with Alma Hepner and Rev. and Mrs. Miura. The last diary entry for June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1942 reads, “We are actually to start to America tomorrow.”<sup>90</sup>

## Exchange Ships and Repatriation

A significant aspect of Stirewalt’s evacuation was the care with which he preserved his diaries. When ULCA missionaries, the Knudtens, left Japan for the United States in May 1941, Stirewalt sent his diaries for 1900-1940 in one of their steamer trunks. However, he kept his diary for the entirety of 1941 through June 1942 with him in Japan, and typed a duplicate copy of the 1941 diary. From January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1942, he made daily entries with carbon paper. In this way, he had complete duplicate copies for January 1941-June 1942. His reason for doing this was a fear of having to leave the diaries behind, or possibly having them confiscated. As he had been told that no written or printed matter was allowed to leave Japan at the time of the June 1942 exchange ships, Stirewalt left both of the duplicate copies of the diaries in Japan, one in a tin lined box in the storehouse of the seminary in Tokyo, and the other in the possession of Rev. & Mrs. Nao Kosaku.<sup>91</sup> When the police inspected his baggage on June 8<sup>th</sup>, and reduced the contents from six to three boxes, Stirewalt made the decision not to risk trying to get the diaries out of

Japan. Regarding making these duplicate copies and leaving them for safekeeping in Japan, Stirewalt wrote, "My purpose in making two copies was with the hope that one copy might be brought out, and that if such attempt was not successful, the remaining copy might be recovered at some future time."<sup>92</sup> It turned out that the baggage inspection before boarding the *Asama Maru* on June 17<sup>th</sup> was so lenient that Stirewalt regretted not taking the diaries with him.<sup>93</sup> Like most foreign nationals who evacuated Japan in 1941-1942, Stirewalt did not know if he would ever return to Japan. Like many, he left personal belongings, bank accounts, friends and colleagues. Though his belongings were stored at the seminary in Tokyo, in the care of Japanese friends, it remained uncertain whether he would be able to return to Japan in the future.<sup>94</sup>

On June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1942, after finalizing preparations for departure the following day, Stirewalt recorded going to bed at 2 AM and getting up only a few hours later at 5 AM. Two police officers came to meet he and Alma Hepner at 7:15 AM, and the bus, which was to take them to Tokyo Station, arrived promptly at 7:50 AM. Stirewalt and Alma Hepner were the first two evacuees to board the bus. Stirewalt noted being seen off by "seminary teachers, their families, and the students," but also that "no one was permitted to see us off at Tokyo Station."<sup>95</sup> After the bus left the Saginomiya seminary campus, it made stops at Shinjuku Station, at the Yotsuya Police Station, the Koishikawa Police Station, the Bunka Apartment House, and at Nakanocho Ushigome. Upon reaching Tokyo Station, the evacuees were taken to a room where they met a group of 13 men who had come from the Denenchofu detention camp. Along with other missionaries and news correspondents, Charles

Hepner was included in this group.<sup>96</sup> Stirewalt recorded that they were made to wait in this room for one and a half hours, after which they were taken to the train platform. The train was already full of people from northern and central Japan as well as from Korea and Manchuria, and the last car was reserved for them.<sup>97</sup> Their train departed Tokyo Station at 11:15 AM and arrived at the terminus alongside the *Asama Maru* at about noon. The evacuees then got off the train and went through a registration process on the dock, whereby baggage was again examined, and money declared. Stirewalt recorded that he only declared 505 yen, though he was eligible to have carried up to 1,000 yen.<sup>98</sup>

Evacuees boarded the *Asama Maru* on June 17<sup>th</sup>, and the ship departed the dock and then stopped at the second breakwater in Yokohama Harbor, remaining there for over a week.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, a high stakes diplomatic negotiation was carried out between Japan and the United States that delayed the departure of the *Asama Maru* in Yokohama and the SS *Gripsholm* in New York.<sup>100</sup> However, the *Asama Maru* finally sailed from Yokohama at 1:25 AM on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1942.<sup>101</sup> On June 29<sup>th</sup> the ship arrived at Hong Kong, and under armed guard picked up 370 Americans.<sup>102</sup> The *Asama Maru* then sailed upriver to Saigon, where on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 125 people boarded the ship.<sup>103</sup> The ship steamed to Singapore and on July 6<sup>th</sup>, rendezvoused with the *Conte Verde*, an Italian ship that contained 636 American evacuees from Shanghai.<sup>104</sup> From there, both ships sailed through the Sunda Strait, and together across the Indian Ocean, around Madagascar, to Lourenço Marques (present day Maputo) in Mozambique, where the Swedish liner SS *Gripsholm* was docked, waiting with 1,500 Japanese evacuees from the United States and Latin America.<sup>105</sup>

The SS *Grisholm* had departed from New York on June 19<sup>th</sup> with Japanese citizens who had been evacuated from the United States and Latin America.<sup>106</sup> Once at Lourenço Marques, the *Asama Maru* docked at the stern of the *Gripsholm* and the *Conte Verde* at the bow of the *Gripsholm*.<sup>107</sup> Stirewalt records that the passenger exchange began on July 23<sup>rd</sup> at 9:30 AM, taking several hours.<sup>108</sup> The SS *Gripsholm* left Lourenço Marques on July 28<sup>th</sup> and arrived in New York on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1942.<sup>109</sup> The entire voyage took ten weeks, and the price of the trip was fixed at \$575.00 per person, regardless of which class they were assigned to on the ship.<sup>110</sup> Ambassadors Joseph Grew (1880-1965) and Nomura Kichisaburô (1877-1964) and their diplomatic staffs were also returned to their respective nations on these exchange ships.<sup>111</sup>

Upon his return to the United States, Stirewalt made his way from New York to Baltimore, Maryland, where the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) was headquartered. From September 2<sup>nd</sup> to November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1942, Stirewalt stayed in Baltimore undergoing health examinations and treatment at the Beck Diagnostic Clinic, as well as meeting with church leaders. During this time, Stirewalt drafted a letter to members of the ULCA Board, co-workers, family and friends.<sup>112</sup> This letter offers significant insight into Stirewalt's thoughts about the previous year, as well as his thoughts about the Japanese church. Though there is not space here to offer a complete summary of the contents of the letter, Stirewalt reported on each Japanese pastor and seminarian by name regarding where they were currently serving either as pastors or as drafted military personnel. In addition, he made an itemized report of Lutheran schools; the seminary and its faculty; the Shadan; and various social welfare institutions. He also re-

ported on the financial situation of the church, as well as the financial situation of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland in Japan.<sup>113</sup> In addition, Stirewalt reported on the newly formed United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyôdan*).

Lutheran mission work in Japan had been sponsored and aided by the ULCA for nearly fifty years since its inception in 1892. The JELC was to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary in September 1942. At the end of this letter, Stirewalt commented that Christian mission work in Japan had come to an end, hinting that with the war, one era of missionary work had come to a close.<sup>114</sup> He ended the letter with the following sobering words,

Under the present state pressure, there will be apostasy; but it is to be hoped that there will be some whose faith and practice will continue true; and that even among those who yield under the present pressure, there will be many who will return to the truth in Christ, after this present critical period passes.

These things are painful to anticipate, but they are staring us in the face. The gates of hell shall not prevail, but the promise does not say that the Church will be free from suffering. This is a time for prayer.<sup>115</sup>

One can only imagine how difficult it must have been for Stirewalt to not only leave Japan, but also see a half-century of missionary work with an uncertain future. In this letter, Stirewalt shows great concern for the Japanese church and its institutions. He did not display bitterness or nationalism, but rather called for prayer in the face of great difficulty.<sup>116</sup> Stirewalt's letter embodied the words of ULCA Mission president Edward Horn, when the ULCA Mission made the plan to preserve its work by handing

all of its assets and property over to the JELC without “prejudice, pique or disappointment.”<sup>117</sup> Stirewalt seems to have understood very clearly that this current “critical period” had been thrust upon the church by the factors of nationalism and war, and seems to have understood this as a time of suffering for the Church. As he called for prayer in light of challenging circumstances, Stirewalt acknowledged the suffering nature of the Church. Stirewalt seemed to have understood that both Japanese and American Christians suffered together *as the Church*. His letter of report to the ULCA, co-workers and friends is interwoven with the names and the concerns of *both* the Japanese and American churches. As he closed the letter, Stirewalt was therefore, pointing to the suffering nature of the whole Church – suffering that transcends both individuality and nationality by pointing to a God who suffers with God’s whole people.

### Conclusion: Toward a Historical Theology of the Everyday

On November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1946 at the age of sixty-six, Arthur Stirewalt set sail for Japan from Savannah, Georgia on a freighter, the SS *Julien Poydras*. Sailing with Stirewalt were ULCA missionary colleagues the Powlas sisters, Annie and Maude, and an unnamed Roman Catholic priest.<sup>118</sup> The ship, with its four passengers, passed through the Panama Canal on the way to the Pacific Ocean, and arrived in Kobe on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1947. Upon his return to Japan, Stirewalt’s diary records the renewal of friendships and times of fellowship shared with Japanese colleagues – a renewal of relationships that had weathered the storm of war.

That Stirewalt returned to Japan after the war attests to the power of relationships

with Japanese friends and colleagues, relationships that had been built up over decades of what Tosaka Jun termed the repetition of “the everyday.” Stirewalt returned to a postwar Japan, sharing in its lack of food, ration tickets and overcrowded conditions. On July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1952, Arthur J. Stirewalt was awarded the “Fourth Class Order of the Sacred Treasure” (*kunyontō zuihōshō*) by the Shōwa Emperor, for 47 years of service to the nation of Japan. His diaries continued to record the repetition of the everyday in Japan for nearly two more decades until his death in 1968.<sup>119</sup>

In the introduction of this paper, we argued that both Tosaka Jun and Dietrich Bonhoeffer understood humanity as living within the conditions of modernity, within a world that has come to order its daily affairs without constant reference to God. Tosaka argued that what exists in reality is “a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different.” Tosaka understood this as “the everyday” - as the “crystal core of historical time, the secret of history.” As was suggested in Part 1 and in the introduction to this paper, this understanding of “the everyday” allows us to see that it is in the repetition of daily life, its relationships and reconciliations, that “the everyday” becomes historical time. As daily life is built up over time through repetition, not only do we come understand history, but also begin to sense that “the everyday” is where humanity experiences its deepest challenges and greatest joys. Dietrich Bonhoeffer argued that the terms of daily life in the modern world left little room for a “working hypothesis” of God, a religious conception of God that could be used by humanity to attempt to cope with modern life. Rather, Bonhoeffer argued that it is God who suffers in the world *with humanity*, calling this the “messianic event” to which humanity

is drawn into participation. In a “world come of age,” according to Bonhoeffer, “God consents to be pushed out of the world onto the cross” and that this is the only way in which God is with and helps humanity. God is the God who suffers with humanity. Bonhoeffer wrote that humanity lives the Christian faith by “not thinking first of one’s own needs, questions, sins, and fears but [by] allowing oneself to be pulled into walking the path that Jesus walks, into the messianic event.”<sup>120</sup>

With meticulous care, Stirewalt recorded the inescapable repetitions of daily life. His diaries demonstrate that during a period of extreme national crisis for both Japan and the United States, participation in the present of daily life brought with it commitments and relationships that were able to survive even the estrangement and brokenness of war. From the time of his wife’s death in early 1941, until his repatriation in June 1942, Stirewalt, though he did not always seem to understand or see it, accompanied and was accompanied by his Japanese friends and colleagues. This was not without conflict or contradiction. There were times, as we have seen, when he felt at odds with decisions that were made by his Japanese colleagues. However, this did not bring an end to relationships built up over decades of a shared experience of the everyday; rather, it strengthened them. Though the United States and Japan waged war with one another, Stirewalt’s diaries witness to relationships of faith supported through the repetition of the everyday that even war could not completely pull apart.

In Parts 1 and 2 of this paper, we have attempted to show how one person’s recording of the repetition of the everyday during wartime in Japan suggests that human community and its relationships were stronger than the trag-

edy of war. We have attempted to bring three voices into conversation with one another over the contested terrain of modernity and life in the everyday. Two of these voices, Tosaka Jun and Dietrich Bonhoeffer did not outlive the war. Indeed, it could be said that their respective voices and critiques of modernity were, in part, what cost them their lives in the closing days of the war. However, after the war, the works of both Tosaka and Bonhoeffer have become quite influential in their respective fields for the way in which they articulated their understandings of what it means to live wholly and unreservedly in “the everyday,” and in “a world come of age.” It has been hoped that, with the addition of Arthur Stirewalt, the voices of these three persons might be brought into fruitful conversation with one another.

Tosaka was thoroughgoing in his assessment of the modern condition. Human beings only exist within the present – a present that undergoes daily repetition. Human beings live within the paradox of desiring to understand time as oriented toward a future, yet exist in physical bodies that defy this in every way. Bonhoeffer, too, unflinchingly argued that human beings have learned to live without recourse to a concept of God in daily life. His words “Before God, and with God, we live without God” aptly lay bare the existential contradiction faced by modern persons of faith.<sup>121</sup> So much of modern daily life is conceived and carried out without any reference to the eternal or the sacred. Yet Bonhoeffer argued, it is in the midst of this world that Jesus draws people into “the messianic event.” Bonhoeffer argued, “Our lives must be ‘worldly,’ so that we can share precisely so in God’s suffering...”<sup>122</sup> These words suggest that Christian faith in the modern world takes place solely within the repetition of “the everyday”

– indeed, that this is the only place where that faith may be lived out. Tosaka argued that there is “a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different.”<sup>123</sup> While Tosaka would not allow for “the future in the present,” he did recognize the inevitable difference and potential newness that each day brings with it.<sup>124</sup> For Tosaka, though the present moment is all that exists, that moment itself, through its daily repetition, contains a potential for *difference* and *newness*. According to Bonhoeffer living unreservedly in the world brings with it participation in the “messianic event,” an event that creates difference and newness by drawing people out of their own “needs, questions, sins, and fears” so that they might live in a new way with the world and their neighbors.<sup>125</sup>

It has been our purpose to argue that the diaries of Arthur Stirewalt during 1941-1942 reveal, over an extended period of time and under trying circumstances, how one person of faith lived out the everyday in a world at war, thereby participating in the “messianic event” of which Bonhoeffer wrote. As seen in Part 1, on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1941, Stirewalt’s last entry for the year included a prayer, which read in part, “Have mercy on those who suffer because of war, and grant unto each one to know Thy presence and put full trust in Thee.”<sup>126</sup> In this prayer, Stirewalt wrote of his hope for humanity that “ceasing to destroy, they may seek peace and use their energies to help each other.”<sup>127</sup> For Stirewalt, prayer was a significant repetition in the everyday, and suggests that disciplines such as prayer play an important role in the interiority of human life, not only as contemplation about matters of consequence, but as a discipline that allows one to begin to shape the present newly and differently. If the world suffered because of war, Stirewalt suffered to-

gether with that world in prayer.

Finally, perhaps it was this interior discipline of prayer that helped Stirewalt in the day to day as he accompanied and was accompanied by friends and colleagues, Japanese, American, Finnish and others; and perhaps this helped him to understand the suffering nature of the Church as including *all* of these people and churches who had been pulled apart by war. His return to Japan in 1946, suggests that participation in this suffering Church was to be carried out in no other place than the daily repetition of the everyday. This participation was carried out not only in “official” religious and ecclesiastical events, yet even more primarily, in *the everyday* of shared meals, conversations, mutual deliberation, decision-making and prayer. This points to the hope that the reconciliation and redemption of relationships broken by the war took place through living unreservedly with others in the everyday. Stirewalt’s diaries suggest that it is in the inescapable and often unrecorded events of daily life, that the “messianic event” takes shape and has the power to work something new within the repetition of the everyday lives of people in the world.

## Notes

- 1 For Part 1, see McKenzie, Timothy, “The Diaries of Arthur Stirewalt, 1941-1942,” *Rûteru gakuin kenkyû kiyô* (Vol. 45, 2011), pp. 17-38. Hereafter cited as “McKenzie, Part 1.” Correction notice: McKenzie, Part 1, p. 36, endnote #56: The date should read “March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1945,” not “1941.”
- 2 Hill, Max, *Exchange Ship*. New York & Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942.
- 3 Terasaki, Gwen, *Bridge to the Sun*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. For the role of Terasaki Hidenari in the immediate postwar as an advisor to the Shôwa Emperor, see

- Terasaki, Hidenari, *Shōwa tennō dokujiroku: Terasaki Hidenari –Goyōgakari nikki*. Mariko Terasaki Miller, ed., Tokyo: Bungei Shunjyū, 1991.
- 4 Tosaka, Jun, “*Gendai tetsugaku kōwa*,” *Tosaka Jun Zenshū*. Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1966, 3:101. Tosaka was a Materialist philosopher and Marxist, who was arrested under the provisions of the Peace Preservation Law for his criticism of the Japanese government. He died in Nagano Prison just days before the end of the Second World War on August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1945.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 3:100.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 3:101.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 The life of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his theology are so well known that it hardly seems necessary to outline or introduce them here.
- 9 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 8 Letters and Papers from Prison*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010, pp. 425-426.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 428. Letter of June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1944.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 482. Letter of July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1944.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 479. Letter of July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1944.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 480. Letter of July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1944.
- 14 Stirewalt Diaries, 1/3, 7, 18/1942, for example. Hereafter cited as “SD.” The diary entry for 1/18/1942 states that it was 19F (-7.2C). Stirewalt wrote, “only once have it seen it lower -18 in Feb. 1936, I think it was.”
- 15 SD., 1/4/1942.
- 16 See SD., 1/30/1942; 2/7/1942; 2/10/1942 and 2/20/1942. On 2/20, 13 letters sent to the United States by Stirewalt were returned to him by the postal service. However, extraordinarily, he received a letter from the United States on April 2, 1942 which had been mailed the previous year on September 16<sup>th</sup>.
- 17 SD., 1/6/1942. “Usual health. Comfortable at home. Love. Inform others. Papee.” See also “ULCA Board of Foreign Missions Minutes,” April 23, 1942 (103). The cable was received through the U.S. Department of State.
- 18 SD., 1/5/1942.
- 19 SD., 1/16/1942.
- 20 SD., 1/22/1942.
- 21 SD., For example, see 1/4, 6, 23/1942; and 2/4/1942.
- 22 SD., 1/4/1942.
- 23 SD., For example, see 1/3/1942; 2/23/1942; 3/4/1942; and 4/1/1942.
- 24 SD., 1/16/1942.
- 25 See McKenzie, Part 1, p. 31.
- 26 SD., 1/10/1942. Theodore Demarest Walser (1885-1949) was a theologian and peace activist, who having studied at Union Seminary and Columbia University, worked in student evangelism with students from Keio Gijuku and Chūō University in Tokyo. He was arrested and interned by the Special Higher Police (*Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu*) after the start of the war. He was repatriated to the United States on the June 1942 exchange ships.
- 27 SD., 1/30/1942.
- 28 SD., 1/31/1942.
- 29 SD., 1/31/1942; 2/4/1942. It seems remarkable that the police would call the detention center to speak with Mr. Hepner, as Stirewalt reported to the police in person with Mrs. Hepner.
- 30 SD., 2/20/1942.
- 31 SD., 2/24/1942.
- 32 SD., 3/3/1942.
- 33 SD., 2/5/1942.
- 34 SD., 2/25/1942.
- 35 SD., 3/1/1942.
- 36 SD., 3/6/1942. ULCA Board of Foreign Mission Minutes state that no direct word had been received from the missionaries remaining in Japan, though Stirewalt’s daughter Ruth had received a telegram sent through the Red Cross to the U.S. Department of State on 1/13/1941. See “ULCA Board of Foreign Mission Minutes,” 4/23/1942, p. 103.
- 37 SD., 3/9/1942.
- 38 SD., 3/10/1942. One indication of how controlled foods were is recorded on 2/4/1942. Stirewalt went to Meidiya at Nakano Station on this date, and recorded, “They took my tickets and told me that I could get bread from tomorrow – 1/2 lb. per day, thus, by not going earlier, I have lost bread for [Feb.] 1-4.” He continued to go to Nakano Station for bread, recording such on 3/14 and 4/9.
- 39 For example see, SD., 3/12/1942; 3/15/1942; 3/20/1942; and 4/12/1942, in addition to other dates.
- 40 SD., 1/31/1942.
- 41 SD., 1/10/1942; 2/8/1942.
- 42 SD., 3/16/1942.
- 43 SD., 4/2/1942.



- 44 SD., 4/3/1942 and 4/5/1942.
- 45 SD., 12/13/1941. See McKenzie, Part 1, p. 32.
- 46 SD., 4/13/1942 and 5/3/1942. Also see *Kumo no hashira - hi no hashira: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kurume Kyôkai senkyô 80 nen shi*. Kurume kyôkai shi hensan iinkai, ed. Kurume: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kurume Kyôkai, 1981, p. 221. The Kurume land sale is discussed in this work by Yamauchi Rokurô, who had been pastor of Kurume Lutheran Church during the war. He stated that because conditions in Japan had changed so drastically, Kurume Church's Nichizen Kindergarten had experienced a severe decline in enrollment and ensuing financial problems. He wrote, "Because of the rupture of economic relations six months prior to the beginning of the war, no money was able to be sent to Japan. Because of this situation, the Executive Council, sold the unnecessary missionary residence, applying this to expenses, and in the end, all the property of Nichizen Kindergarten was also added into this." He went on to state that the land was sold to meet the financial needs of missionaries remaining in Japan, seminary operating costs and the costs of the evangelical work of the Japanese church. Though Stirewalt's diaries suggest that he was not in financial need, and was actually concerned about protecting his bank accounts and the accounts of the ULCA Mission, Kurume Church's history suggests that, in addition to seminary and church expenses, the funds from the land sales were used in some way to help the needs of missionaries who were still in Japan at the beginning of the war.
- 47 SD., 4/13/1942.
- 48 *Kumo no hashira - hi no hashira*, p. 221.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 SD., 5/3/1942.
- 51 SD., 3/24/1942. Tokyo Union Church was founded in 1872 at the Tsukiji foreign settlement, making it the oldest congregation serving the foreign population in Tokyo. For more, see the centennial history: Hemphill, Robert F., *A Church for All Seasons: Tokyo Union Church 1872-1972*. Tokyo: Tokyo Union Church, c. 1972 (especially Chapter V "The Lazarus Church").
- 52 Paul Stephen Mayer (1884-1962) was a missionary of the Evangelical Association, who first came to Japan in 1909. After the war, he was one of the first missionaries allowed to return in 1946, and acted as a liaison with SCAP and the Japanese church working to open channels for missionaries to return to Japan. Mayer also worked with the newly formed Japan Biblical Theological Seminary, the National Christian Council, and other organizations. He returned to the United States in 1957. See *Nihon kirisutokyô shi dai jiten*, p. 1397; and Iglehart, Charles W., *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan*. Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959, p. 282.
- 53 Hemphill, *A Church for All Seasons*, pp. 55-58.
- 54 SD., 4/3/1942.
- 55 In addition to the Hemphill centennial history, the author also investigated the possibility of surviving documents at Tokyo Union Church, but was told that prewar documentation such as board minutes did not survive the war. This makes Stirewalt's diaries invaluable for the small but significant light they shed on this period and this church.
- 56 SD., 4/18/1942.
- 57 *Ibid.*, Stirewalt also noted in his diary an episode that one of the B-25 planes flew over Tokyo Woman's Christian University (SD., 4/23/1942). For an eyewitness recollection at this university that corroborates Stirewalt's report, see *Senjika no joshi gakuseitachi: Tôkyô joshi daigaku ni mananda 60 nin no taiken*. Horie, Yûko, ed., Tôkyô: Kyôbunkan, 2012, p. 85. For another eyewitness account of the Doolittle Raid, see Smith, John Coventry, *From Colonialism to World Community*. Philadelphia: The Geneva Press, 1982, p. 99. It will be recalled from Part 1 that Smith had been on the *Tatsuta Maru* which set sail for the United States but returned to Japan at the outbreak of the war. He was interned with the other passengers at the Yokohama Amateur Boat Club. See McKenzie, Part 1, p. 32.
- 58 SD., 4/20/1942.
- 59 SD., A slip of typed paper was tipped into the April section of Stirewalt's diary with the following written on it, "Mr. Miura informs me that the seminary faculty, as constituted from April, 1942, is as follows: Miura: Practical Theology...Hirai: N.T. Introduction...Nao: O.T. Theology...Kitamori: Dogmatics...Fukuyama: Church History...Miyasaka: History of Dogmatics.
- 60 For a history of the Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary see, Etô, Naozumi and Tokuzen Yo-

- shikazu, ed. *Rûteru gakuin hyakunen no rekishi*. Tokyo: Gakkô Hôjin Rûteru Gakuin, 2009. Also see McKenzie, Timothy, "Early Lutheran Missionaries and Theological Education in Japan – The lives and work of Brown, Nielsen, Horn and Stirewalt," *Rûteru gakuin kenkyû kiyô* (Vol. 43, 2009), pp. 19-32.
- 61 SD., 4/11/1942.
- 62 SD., 5/20/1942.
- 63 SD., 5/21/1942.
- 64 For a full discussion of the negotiations surrounding the two exchanges and the breakdown of negotiations see: Ellman, Bruce, *Japanese-American Civilian Prisoner Exchanges and Detention Camps, 1941-45*. London & New York: Routledge, 2006. For a history of how the exchanges fit into a wider U.S. policy in the Americas see Connell, Thomas, *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II plan for a Japanese free Latin America*. West Port, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002. For a Japanese history of the exchanges see Tsurumi, Shunsuke; Katô, Norihiro; and Kurokawa, Sô, *Nichibei kôkansan*. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 2006.
- 65 Corbett, P. Scott, *Quiet Passages: The Exchange of Civilians between the United States and Japan during the Second World War*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1987, p. 1.
- 66 Elleman, p. 8.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 68 Corbett, p. 57; Elleman, pp. 14-15; 17-20.
- 69 For a full discussion of the knot of problems surrounding the negotiations over exactly who was eligible for exchange see Elleman, pp. 23-44.
- 70 Elleman, p. 30.
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 SD., 5/13/1942; 5/14/1942. The report indicated a weakened heart, and the need for stomach surgery, which Stirewalt would find out was not needed after his return to the United States.
- 73 SD., 5/21/1942.
- 74 SD., 5/25/1942.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 Elleman, p. 46.
- 77 *Ibid.*, See pp. 45-51 for a full discussion of regarding baggage negotiations between the two nations.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 79 SD., 5/26/1942.
- 80 SD., 5/29/1942.
- 81 SD., 5/30/1942.
- 82 SD., 6/2/1942.
- 83 SD., 6/7/1942.
- 84 SD., 6/8/1942.
- 85 SD., 6/15/1942. Stirewalt wrote, "Bennie has been a faithful little dog. Sorry to see him go."
- 86 SD., 6/6/1942; 6/12/1942 and 7/5/1942. Stirewalt only had the verbal assurance of Mr. Murase at the Ministry of Finance and actual written permission was not granted before he left on June 17<sup>th</sup>. Stirewalt doubted whether the account would be worth very much after the war. James Fullerton Gressitt (1883-1945) was a graduate of John Hopkins University, who came to Japan as an American Baptist Church missionary in 1907, working primarily in Christian education. By choice, as the place of his life's work, Gressitt remained in Japan during the war. He was interned in the Setagaya detention camp. Immediately after the war, he worked with Kagawa Toyohiko advising General Douglas MacArthur regarding postwar occupation policy. Gressitt's health suffered as a result of wartime conditions and internment. He collapsed at Atsugi Military Air Facility while being transferred to a military plane bound for the United States for medical treatment, dying in Japan. See *Nihon kirisutokyô shi dai jiten*, p. 471.
- 87 SD., 6/12/1942.
- 88 SD., 6/14/1942.
- 89 SD., 6/15/1942.
- 90 SD., 6/16/1942.
- 91 SD., In a diary entry titled, "*Asama Maru*, Enroute from Saigon to Singapore – Sunday, July 5, 1942," Stirewalt reviewed his reasons for making copies of the diaries for 1941-1942 and attempting to safeguard them. Also see Hill, *Exchange Ship*, p. 4, for confirmation that no written or printed materials could be taken out of Japan at the time of the 1942 exchange.
- 92 SD., "*Asama Maru*, Enroute from Saigon to Singapore – Sunday, July 5, 1942."
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 As mentioned earlier, Stirewalt attempted to have his bank accounts turned over to missionary friend James Gressitt. Stirewalt left Japan not knowing if that attempt had been successful.
- 95 SD., 6/17/1942.
- 96 Hill, *Exchange Ship*, pp. 3-7. Hill recorded that the

interned men who were being brought from the camp to Tokyo Station left the camp by bus at around 9 AM. Hill mentions that Lutheran missionary, Charles Hepner translated for the group before their departure from the camp, and that Hepner emotionally expressed his feelings to the Japanese camp inspectors regarding what these American internees intended to do to aid the war effort after they had returned to their country. The six months spent in detention had obviously hardened the feelings of many of the men mentioned in Hill's book. This is in contrast to Stirewalt who was not interned, and is perhaps one reason for Stirewalt's relative dispassionate reporting of his daily life in wartime Japan.

97 SD., 6/17/1942.

98 *Ibid.*

99 See SD., 6/17-24/1942, and Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 102. Stirewalt and Smith recorded the rumor that the U.S. Department of State was demanding the release of persons held under arrest in Sapporo on charges of espionage. Also see Hill, *Exchange Ship*; and Terasaki, *Bridge to the Sun*, for additional background about these rumors.

100 In reality, it would seem that more than the Lanes in Sapporo were involved. Both governments threatened to delay the departure of ships from their respective waters if certain persons were not put aboard. See Elleman, pp. 32-34; and Corbett, pp. 65-68.

101 SD., 6/25/1942.

102 SD., 6/29/1942; and Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 103.

103 Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 103; Stirewalt recorded only 24 people (SD., 7/3/1942).

104 SD., 7/6/1942. In addition, Stirewalt recorded that 13 persons from the Philippines also boarded at Singapore. Smith recorded 600 on the *Conte Verde*. Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 103. "Nomura taishira hikiage," Asahi Shimbun, 6/26/1942, p. 1, stated that the *Conte Verde* left Shanghai on June 29<sup>th</sup>.

105 Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 104. See also Parker, F. Calvin, *The Southern Baptist Mission in Japan*, 1889-1989. Lanham, Maryland: University of America Press, 1991, pp. 166-167. Unknown to anyone at the time, the *Asama*

*Maru* was nearly torpedoed in the China Sea by a U.S. submarine. The red crosses on the side of the ship saved it. See Smith, p. 105.

106 "Yûshû na zuiten kisen," Asahi Shimbun, 6/21/1942, p. 1. This article reported 1,917 Japanese passengers aboard the SS *Gripsholm*.

107 By Stirewalt's count the total number of American evacuees was 1,590 (954 total after Singapore, and 636 on the *Conte Verde*), while Parker records 1,500. See Parker, *The Southern Baptist Mission in Japan*, p. 166. Parker also writes that there were about 600 missionaries and their families, while Stirewalt puts the number much lower at 334. Stirewalt also noted that 66 missionaries remained in Japan (43 American, 18 English, 5 Canadian) to be repatriated at a later date. See SD., 7/20/1942. Also see Hill, *Exchange Ship*, p. 236. Hill has the docked positions of the *Asama Maru* and the *Conte Verde* reversed.

108 SD., 7/23/1942. Also see Smith and Parker for accounts of the exchange.

109 SD., 7/28/1942, and 8/25/1942.

110 Stirewalt was assigned 1<sup>st</sup> class from Yokohama to Mozambique, and 3<sup>rd</sup> class from there to New York. See, SD., 7/26/1942, and Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, p. 107.

111 For example, see the Asahi Shimbun, 6/21/1942; 6/26/1942; 7/24/1942; 8/7/1942; 8/9/1942; and 8/10/1942 for reports on the return of Nomura and the Japanese citizens repatriated at the same time. Also see Gwen Terasaki's account, *Bridge to the Sun*, from the perspective of an American wife of a Japanese diplomat.

112 Stirewalt, Arthur J., "Letter of Rev. Arthur J. Stirewalt, D.D., Baltimore, October 5, 1942." Stirewalt Collection, James R. Crumley Archives, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina. Referred to below as "Stirewalt, Letter, 10/5/1942."

113 Stirewalt, Letter, 10/5/1942, pp. 4-9.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

115 *Ibid.*

116 For more on the issue of language and the press in the aid of the war effort with regard to limitations imposed upon the press by Ambassador Joseph Grew and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, see Hill, *Exchange Ship*, pp. 236-237.

117 Horn, Edward T., "President's Report," Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 56 (see McKenzie,

- Part 1, p. 23).
- 118 SD., 11/26/1946. The SS *Julien Poydras* was a former Liberty Ship.
- 119 After retirement from the ULCA in 1952, Stirewalt taught at Kobe Lutheran Theological Seminary from 1952-1968. Stirewalt departed for the United States aboard the *Oriental Jade* on 7/29/1968. He died in Greensboro, North Carolina on 9/24/1968.
- 120 Bonhoeffer, *Works*, 8:480.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 8:479.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 8:480.
- 123 Tosaka, *Zenshû*, 3:101.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 3:100.
- 125 Bonhoeffer, *Works*, 8:480.
- 126 SD., 12/31/1941. (See McKenzie, Part 1, p. 32-33).
- 127 *Ibid.*

## アーサー・J・スタイワルトの日記, 1941年～1942年

### 第二部：戦時下の生活：教会と日常性の繰り返し

ティモシー・S・マッケンジー

この論文は1941年～1942年に於けるルーテル教会の宣教師、アーサー・J・スタイワルトの日記についての上下シリーズの後半である。本論文は戦時下日本に於けるスタイワルトの生活を1942年の日米交換船での本国帰還まで取り上げる。「日常性」の記録であるスタイワルトの日記は、日本とアメリカが戦争中であり、宣教師が日本の教会の中で公に働けなくなったにもかかわらず、日本人とアメリカ人のキリスト者の関係は続いたことを示してくれる。方法論として、本論文は昭和初期の哲学者、戸坂潤の「日常性の原理」とドイツの神学者、ディートリッヒ・ボンヘッファーの「成人した世界」という概念を利用する。戸坂とボンヘッファーの両者は近代性をもつ人間の生活と共同体が日常生活を「永遠」や「聖なるもの」から独立した事柄として整理するようになったと理解した。スタイワルトの日記は、戦争によって引き離されたすべての教会を含む教会というものの受難する本質を表す。戸坂、ボンヘッファーとスタイワルトのそれぞれの声は、壊れた人間生活を乗り越える力をもつ希望と新たなことを創造する「日常性」の役割を指し示す。

**Keywords：**アーサー・J・スタイワルト, 戸坂潤, ディートリッヒ・ボンヘッファー, 宣教, 日米交換船

